

## Message Text

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S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

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TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT CHARLES W. CORDDRY COLUMN THE BALTIMORE SUN TUESDAY, DECEMBER 28, HEADED "SALT-2 MAY BE A MISSILE-BOMBER FREEZE."

2. PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER'S EMERGING STRATEGY FOR NEGOTIATING NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO CALL FIRST FOR SEEKING AGREEMENT BY NEXT SEPTEMBER TO FREEZE LEVELS OF MISSILES AND BOMBERS AND THEN TO BEGIN TALKS IMMEDIATELY ON A FOLLOW-UP AGREEMENT TO REDUCE WEAPONS STOCKPILES.

3. OBSERVERS WHO SEE THIS POLICY LINE DEVELOPING BASE THEIR CONCLUSIONS BOTH ON PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF MR. CARTER AND HIS NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, AND ON THEIR OWN TALKS WITHIN THE CARTER CAMP.  
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4. THE TWO-STAGE APPROACH, INVOLVING ACCEPTANCE FIRST OF THE 1974 VLADIVOSTOK GUIDELINES, IS SEEN AS ESSENTIAL BY THOSE WHO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE TOO MUCH OF A WRENCH FOR BOTH COUNTRIES TO START FROM SCRATCH TO SEEK A PACT CALLING STRAIGHT-AWAY FOR ARMS REDUCTIONS.

5. PRESIDENT FORD AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV, THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF, AGREED IN VLADIVOSTOK IN DECEMBER, 1974, TO WORK OUT A PACT LIMITING TOTAL STRATEGIC NUCLEAR VEHICLES (INTERCONTINENTAL AND SUBMARINE MISSILES AND LONG-RANGE BOMBERS) ON EACH SIDE TO 2,400. WITHIN THAT TOTAL, THERE COULD BE 1,320 VEHICLES WITH MULTIPLE NUCLEAR WARHEADS.

6. THESE GUIDELINES, WIDELY ATTACKED HERE AT THE TIME AS TOO HIGH, WERE TO BE INCORPORATED IN A TREATY THAT WOULD SUCCEED THE FIVE-YEAR STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION, OR SO-CALLED SALT-1 AGREEMENT. THE LATTER RUNS OUT NEXT OCTOBER, AND SO THERE IS URGENCY NOW ABOUT NEGOTIATING A SALT-2 PACT.

7. THE NEGOTIATION HAS FAILED THUS FAR BECAUSE OF RUSSIA'S INSISTENCE THAT ITS BACKFIRE BOMBER IS NOT AN INTERCONTINENTAL STRATEGIC WEAPON AND AMERICA'S REFUSAL TO AGREE TO SOVIET-PROPOSED LIMITS ON THE RANGE OF CRUISE MISSILES (PILOTLESS JET AIRCRAFT).

8. THE CARTER STRATEGY, AS IT IS PERCEIVED BY DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY OBSERVERS, IS FULL OF PITFALLS -- BOTH DOMESTICALLY AND IN THE ARENA WITH RUSSIA. IT INVOLVES SEEKING A LESS-THAN-COMPLETE SALT-2 AGREEMENT, WITH A FREEZE ON NUMBERS OF WEAPONS BUT WITHOUT A DEFINITION OF ALL THE WEAPONS COVERED.

9. IN OTHER WORDS, IT WOULD APPEAR TO LEAVE THE BACKFIRE UNCLASSIFIED

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BOMBER AND CRUISE MISSILE ISSUES FOR A SALT-3 PACT ON WHICH NEGOTIATIONS WOULD START IMMEDIATELY AFTER SALT-2 WAS CONCLUDED.

10. THIS COULD DRAW FIRE FROM CONGRESSIONAL HARDLINERS AND FROM THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, WHERE INSISTENCE ON INCLUDING THE BACKFIRE HAS BEEN STRONGEST. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD LEAVE THE PENTAGON FREE, PRESUMABLY, TO CONTINUE DEVELOPING CRUISE MISSILES.

11. THAT FACT, IN TURN, COULD CAUSE THE RUSSIANS TO BALK, FOR THEY HAVE BEEN ADAMANT ABOUT INCLUDING CRUISE MISSILES -- WEAPONS IN WHICH THEIR DEVELOPMENT LAGS BEHIND AMERICA'S. NEGOTIATORS COULD ARGUE, HOWEVER, THAT THERE WAS AMPLE TIME TO CONCLUDE A COMPREHENSIVE SALT-3 PACT BEFORE U.S. CRUISE MISSILES HAD REACHED READINESS FOR DEPLOYMENT WITH MILITARY FORCES.

12. THE FORD ADMINISTRATION TRIED IN SEPTEMBER TO GET THE RUSSIANS TO GO ALONG WITH A PARTIAL SALT-2 AGREEMENT, COV-

ERING BALLISTIC MISSILES AND OTHER BOMBERS BUT LEAVING ASIDE THE BACKFIRE AND CRUISE MISSILES. THE RUSSIANS SAID NO.

13. OBSERVERS REASON THAT MOSCOW MIGHT MORE READILY ACCEPT SUCH A PROPOSAL FROM THE NEW CARTER ADMINISTRATION THAN FROM THE REPUBLICANS WHO PUT IT FORTH DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

14. IN ANY EVENT, OBSERVERS SAY, THE SIGNS POINT TO AN EFFORT BEING MADE, WITH A CONDITION THAT THERE BE A QUICK FOLLOW-UP LOOKING TOWARD ARMS REDUCTIONS.

15. MR. CARTER SAID IN AN INTERVIEW WITH TIME MAGAZINE PUBLISHED YESTERDAY THAT HE WANTED A NEW SALT AGREEMENT UNCLASSIFIED

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BEFORE OCTOBER, USING THE VLADIVOSTOK TERMS AS A BASIS. HE IS THINKING OF A FREEZE ON NUMBERS OF MISSILES AND WARHEADS AND POSSIBLY SOMEWHAT LOWER LIMITS THAN PROJECTED AT VLADIVOSTOK.

16. "AND THEN I WOULD LIKE TO SEE A CAREFUL AMOUNT OF MUTUAL REDUCTION IN TOTAL NUMBERS OF ATOMIC WEAPONS BETWEEN US AND THE SOVIET UNION," HE SAID.

17. MR. BRZEZINSKI SAID IN PLAINS, GA., DECEMBER 16 THAT "AS WE MOVE TOWARD SALT-2 AND BEYOND ... WE HAVE TO SEEK TO OBTAIN A LOWERING OF THE STRATEGIC LEVELS ON BOTH SIDES."  
(END OF TEXT.)  
ROBINSON

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